

There is a new crisis in Southern Africa. The frontiers of African freedom have been extended by the tremendous victory in Zimbabwe and now international attention is focused on Namibia. Namibia is illegally occupied by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations which back in 1966 terminated the original mandate of the League of Nations under which South Africa administered the territory. Resistance to South African rule grew rapidly through the 1970s and now South Africa needs an army of occupation of over 75,000 to fight the Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO.

In 1977 the five western members (UK, US, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Canada) of the United Nations Security Council decided to launch a diplomatic initiative with the stated aim of reaching a negotiated agreement leading to UN-supervised elections and an independent Namibia. South Africa, whilst never

opting out of the negotiations, has instead set up its own 'internal settlement' which has even less credibility than Ian Smith's 'internal settlement' in Rhodesia. These very same western powers however have repeatedly blocked efforts in the UN which could have brought effective pressure against South Africa, in particular economic sanctions. Not surprisingly, it is big multinationals from these countries which are making huge profits in Namibia.

Currently the UN has made specific proposals to South Africa but South Africa continues to prevaricate, because it now fears more than ever the prospect of genuine elections, for these will result in an overwhelming victory for SWAPO.

If further escalation of the war is to be avoided, immediate action is required. South Africa must be compelled to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and accept UN proposals for a ceasefire and UN-supervised elections. There is much that

individuals and groups can do:

- urge the British government to support mandatory UN economic sanctions against South Africa
- support the CANUC campaign and other activities to halt British economic collaboration with Namibia
- join in the SATIS campaign for the release of all Namibian political prisoners and detainees
- help SWAPO directly by supporting the material aid campaign of the Namibia Support Committee
- make sure the issue of Namibia is discussed in any organisation or group in which you are active
- contact the Anti-Apartheid Movement for further information on campaigning.



FREE NAMIBIA!

Western Multinationals Dominate

Namibia's economy is dominated by foreign controlled multinationals. Perhaps as much as 50 per cent of Gross Domestic Product is 'creamed off' by foreign interests. And many of these are British-controlled. Latest available figures indicate that there are 88 multinationals in Namibia - 25 British, 35 South African, 15 US, eight West German, three French and

two Canadian.

Mining is the most important sector of the economy and foreign multinationals dominate, all of them operating in defiance of the UN Decree on Namibian Natural Resources, which forbids mineral exploitation there.

The biggest foreign investment of all and the biggest open cast uranium mine in the world at Rossing is 60 per cent owned by Rio Tinto Zinc. The US-controlled Tsumeb Corporation accounts for 80 per cent of base metal output. Consolidated Diamond Mines, an Anglo American

subsidiary, monopolised diamond production. And these companies make vast profits. CDM's profits have averaged 40 per cent of the profits of its immediate subsidiary, De Beers, and in 1974 amounted to R80 million. Yet wages paid to Africans are even lower than in South Africa and even more unequal. Taking the economy as a whole it has been estimated that the annual income per head for whites is around R3,000 pa, while for Africans it is R125 pa - a ratio of 24 to 1.

In fishing and stock rearing, the other two main components of the economy, the same picture is repeated. Domination by foreign interests, vast disparities in pay, massive exploitation of the resources of the country.

These foreign companies have been attracted to Namibia because South Africa provides, through its occupation, unique conditions in which they can maximise their profits. Labour is kept cheap, the police are on hand to 'deal' with the workers in the event of trouble, and so on. Now, faced with the prospect of independence and the intensifying liberation struggle, they are speeding up their exploitation of Namibia's resources because they know that the government of a free Namibia will place the country's resources firmly under its control.



SWAPO soldiers of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia

Namibia In Brief

Population (UN Namibia Institute estimate 1978)
Africans 1,035,000
Coloureds 115,000
Whites 100,000
(These figures exclude military occupation forces)

Area 318,261 square miles (the size of Britain and France put together)

Location Namibia lies along the South Atlantic coast of Africa, sharing borders with South Africa, Botswana, Angola and Zambia

Capital Windhoek (population 80,000). Walvis Bay is the major port

Military occupation Namibia is occupied by South Africa. They now admit to having 60,000 troops there, but a more realistic estimate puts the figure at between 75,000 and 100,000

Natural Resources Diamonds (found mainly in coastal areas), uranium, copper, lead, zinc and vanadium. The fishing industry is also important. (Commercial agriculture consists mainly of the rearing of cattle and karakul sheep.)

Manufacturing The main manufacturing activity is the processing of food and other perishable products. Other industrial activity involves the finishing and assembling of material imported from South Africa.

100 Years Of Struggle

The liberation struggle in Namibia today has its roots in the struggle of the Namibian people to preserve their independence against the German colonists of the nineteenth and early 20th centuries.

In 1884 a German protectorate was established in the area surrounding Luderitz. In the following years it was expanded to become the 'German South West Africa' colonial protectorate. The German colonists, who attempted to dispossess the Africans of their land and settle German farmers, were fiercely resisted, especially in the South, where war raged for 10 years. In 1904 there were major rebellions by the Herero people and the Nama. After six months the entire Herero people had been driven into the Kalahari desert where they were massacred by the German army. The Nama rebellion in the south continued for a further five years. But the German reign of terror brought great loss of life. Sixty thousand Hereros were killed by the colonial army - 80 per cent of the total Herero population. Three-quarters of the Namas were killed and their land and cattle confiscated. Out of the entire population of the 'Police Zone' - 140,000 in 1904 - 60 per cent lost their lives in the war of resistance. (The Police Zone was the area under German 'control'.)

During the first world war South Africa invaded the German colony on behalf of the allies, and South Africa was later granted a mandate to administer the territory on behalf of the League of Nations.

between the races and all the 'petty apartheid' measures: segregated transport, entertainment and eating facilities.

Resistance grew, especially against contract labour. But it was ruthlessly put down. After the Windhoek shootings in 1969 (Namibia's Sharpeville), in which 11 Namibians were killed by South African police and 54 wounded, this resistance broadened into a wider struggle and SWAPO was formed to liberate Namibia from colonial oppression and exploitation in all its forms.

Since 1966

In 1966 the United Nations General Assembly terminated South Africa's League of Nations mandate over Namibia. The following 14 years has seen many other important developments. AAM has prepared a short document, *A Namibia Chronology*, which lists them (15p). Below are some of the most important.

1966 UN General Assembly terminates the mandate and declares that South Africa has no right to administer the territory.

1971 International Court of Justice rules South African presence illegal.

1976 In a unanimous decision the UN Security Council calls for the withdrawal of South Africa and for elections under UN supervision and control (Resolution 385).

1977 'Western Five' (US, Britain, France, Canada and Federal Republic of Germany) launch 'initiative' which continues into 1978 with the stated aim of reaching a negotiated agreement leading to United Nations supervised elections and an independent Namibia.



Resistance to the South Africans continued into the 1920s. But by the second world war South Africa had entrenched its control, and with it introduced more white settlers. Africans were restricted to reservations in the poorest areas or to 'urban locations' near the centres of industry. By 1951 the territory had representation in the all-white South African parliament and was being governed as South Africa's de facto 'fifth province'. In 1955 South Africa took over the administration of 'Native Affairs' directly, through its Department of Bantu Administration and Development, and began its own apartheid policy in the territory.

This meant 'bantustanisation' and the application of most of the apartheid regime's racially discriminatory legislation - segregated townships, prohibition of land ownership by Africans in white areas, pass laws, job reservation, racially segregated education and health, prohibition of mixed marriages and sexual relations

What is SWAPO?

SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organisation) is the liberation movement of Namibia. It was formed in 1960 with the object of securing the total liberation of Namibia. In the last 20 years SWAPO has grown rapidly, bringing together all opponents of the South African occupation and enjoying the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of Namibia. This was reflected by its recognition in 1965 by the Organisation of African Unity and the recognition of the United Nations that SWAPO is the 'sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia'.

SWAPO is not banned inside Namibia. It continues to mobilise activity in all parts of the country and amongst all sections of the population. But its open political work has met the most severe repression by the South African regime. SWAPO members, supporters and leaders have been detained, banned, killed and severely tortured, and some have simply 'disappeared'. Rallies have been violently broken up by police and the office in Windhoek has been closed by the regime. SWAPO leaders such as Herman Ja Toivo languish in Robben Island with some 36 other Namibians, many sentenced to life imprisonment. Virtually every SWAPO activity contravenes some apartheid law and increasingly its work has to be underground.

1978 The 'Western Five' (or 'Contact Group') submit to the UN Security Council a 'Proposal for the Settlement of the Namibian Situation' - the 'Western Plan'. In May, South Africa attacks the SWAPO refugee camp in Kassinga, Angola. Eight hundred die, many are injured, 200 are abducted. After lengthy negotiations Dr Waldheim published his report on the implementation of the Western Plan, which is adopted by the Security Council (Resolution 435) in the summer. In December, in defiance of the United Nations Security Council, South Africa proceeds to hold 'internal elections'.

1979 In May, the South African-appointed Administrator General in Namibia announces the formation of the National Assembly, based on the result of the election, with legislative powers. In July Angola proposes the establishment of a demilitarised zone in the north as part of a settlement plan. In November talks are held in Geneva with SWAPO, South Africa and the UN to discuss this.

1980 The newly appointed commander of the proposed UN force visits South Africa and Namibia in February and March. South Africa insists on retaining military bases in the demilitarised zone.

What's Britain's Stake

Trade An estimated 25 per cent of Namibia's exports come to Britain. Canned fish are imported under the Glenryk and Puffin labels. Sirdar buy Namibian wool. Karakul pelts are sold in London auctions. Most important of all, 50 per cent of Britain's uranium comes from the RTZ Rossing mine and practically all Namibia's gem diamonds are sold through the London-based Central Selling Organisation. Union Castle and Clan lines have regular sailings from Walvis Bay.

Finance Two British banks dominate: Barclays (22 branches in Namibia) and Standard Chartered hold 70 per cent of all bank deposits. In insurance, Norwich Union and Legal and General have branches.

Companies Outside mining, British companies have major, often dominant, interests: Babcock and Wilcox, Blackwood Hodge, British Oxygen, Shell and BP, Mitchell Cotts, Davy Ashmore, George Wimpey, British Steel, British Leyland and Metal Box. In mining, RTZ dominates uranium

After it became clear that the regime would allow no open political activity or real change, the armed struggle of SWAPO, through its military wing PLAN (People's Liberation Army of Namibia) has become increasingly important. Launched in 1966, it was at first confined to the north of Namibia. Today SWAPO military activities there are being conducted on a major scale. But they have also spread to other parts of Namibia, even south of Windhoek. South Africa now has between 75,000 and 100,000 troops in the territory (and some 40 bases in the north alone).

Even South Africa's backers in the West have been forced to recognise that only through talking to SWAPO can any settlement be brought about. As the SWAPO slogan has it: 'SWAPO is the people, the people is SWAPO'.

Further information on SWAPO from Shapua Kaukungua, Western European Representative, SWAPO, 188 North Gower Street, London NW1 (01-388 2089).



and the other mining houses all have substantial British involvements.

Campaign Resources and Information

SWAPO pamphlets

The People's Resistance, SWAPO - An Historical Profile, Political Prisoners in Namibia (all 40p) and *Application of an acceptable settlement* (20p). Also monthly *Information and Comment* and *Namibia Today*, official bi-monthly, *Constitution and SWAPO Programme* (15p)

Badges and posters Available from NSC plus poster exhibition from IDAF

SWAPO supporter mauled by police dog, 1978

Rossing uranium CANUC (Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract) booklet *The Rossing File* (60p) plus petition and leaflet

Films Available from NSC or The Other Cinema

Repression SATIS (Southern Africa The Imprisoned Society): *Repression in Namibia* (15p), available from AAM. *Focus*, bi-monthly from IDAF, lists of detainees under AG26, and list of persons abducted from Kassinga from NSC or AAM.

Background

From IDAF: *A Dwelling Place of Our Own - The Story of the Namibian Nation* (40p), *Workers of Namibia* (£1.50), *Namibia Bulletin* (produced by UN Council for Namibia).

From NSC: *Action on Namibia* (bi-monthly), *Foreign Companies in Namibia* (20p), *Namibia - A Nation Held Hostage* (30p), literature list, other publications: *Election in Namibia?*, various leaflets.

From UN Information Office: verbatim texts of UN resolutions

Material aid

Details from NSC: main emphasis on SWAPO mother and child unit

Addresses

SWAPO, 188 North Gower Street, London NW1. Tel 01-388 2089

NSC, 188 North Gower Street, London NW1. Tel 01-388 5539

IDAF, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1. Tel 01-606 6123

UN Information Office, 14 Stratford Place, London W1. Tel 01-629 3816

AAM, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ. Tel 01-580 5311



After the Kassinga massacre, May 1978